

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, OCT. 9, 1840.

Wendell Phillips.

The following is an extract from a letter received by a friend in this city from WENDELL PHILLIPS, who is now on the continent of Europe:

"I have been looking over the file of last year's Liberator, which you were kind enough to send me, and have been much interested in the discussion of the question about non-resistance and fitness for membership of the American Society, specially the communications of Lee, Birney, and Smith, and suppose they are all old matters with you, by this time; but remember I am six months behind you in papers. These arguments all seem to me based on nothing."

For instance: after quoting the preamble of the Constitution—"whereas we believe we owe it to the oppressed, to the free citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of slavery"—Mr. Lee goes on to argue, "Political action at the polls is lawfully within our power; therefore, we must believe that we owe it to the oppressed, &c. to act politically at the polls to bring about the extinction of slavery."—Lib. Sept. 6, 1839.

Very logical! Let us try this rule a little further. Giving all one's property to the cause is lawfully in our power. Devoting all one's time, and becoming exclusively an agent, is lawfully in our power—both will tend to the extinction of slavery."

Re-sisting the formation of new societies in Massachusetts and elsewhere, is lawfully in our power—organizing a third political party is lawfully in our power—therefore, every abolitionist, at least every member of an Anti-Slavery Society, is constitutionally bound to do them all!

But, would any Mr. Lee, my judgment and conscience tell me it is not duty, though lawfully in my power, to give all my money and time to the anti-slavery cause. I owe some to my family, some to the cause of missions, some to the church over which I am settled. My judgment and conscience tell me that resisting the new organizations, though lawfully in my power, is not duty, for, in my opinion, they will help the slave. I do not do any of these things, because I do not think they will tend to the extinction of slavery so much as others which I am doing. And still, in the very teeth of his own invented logic, he thinks himself a good abolitionist. Yet when the non-resistance says, "So my judgment and conscience tell me that voting, though lawfully in my power, is not duty—I do not deem it Christian to use such means—I think I am using better."

"You are then no abolitionist," shouts Mr. Lee, "at least, no member of the Anti-Slavery Society. Do quit the platform. Don't see your tudy foot-steps hinder my advance."

If Mr. Lee is correct, the friends of a third political party have made a great mistake. That measure, like some others, has been shockingly mismanaged. It is, without doubt, lawfully in our power to organize such a party;—this is also a constitutional way of influencing Congress; and, in the opinion of its friends, seems of almost as much importance as voting itself. Why then do they not quit ringing changes on expediency, and at once affirm to be the constitutional and moral duty of every abolitionist to unite on such a measure? Imitate Stanton at the New-England Convention, and introduce a resolution of this kind:

Resolved, That the formation of a third political party being a measure tending to the extinction of slavery, lawfully in our power, and a constitutional way of influencing Congress;—therefore, every member of an Anti-Slavery Society, who refuses, under any pretext, to unite in the formation of such a party, or consents others to such a course, is guilty of gross inconsistency, and widely departs from the original and fundamental principles of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. Lee will vote for it, certainly; if any one object, knock him down with the staff of accomplishment."

What does this clause of our Anti-Slavery constitution mean? "The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress, &c." It means that all the ways we intend to use are constitutional—we will use no unconstitutional ones. Why was it inserted? Because at the outset, abolitionists were charged with a design to overlook and disregard constitutional barriers. In consequence, they thus pledged themselves not to do so. The same is true of that phrase, "lawfully in our power"—a pledge that, as a Society, we will not transgress the law—do only what the law allows; but by no means a promise to do all that the law allows. No Christian can promise to do anything which religion and humanity, as well as the laws, do not sanction. Massachusetts has expressed the same sentiment more carefully—sanctioned by law, humanity and religion."

Mr. Birney's argument on the first of the above clauses (See Lib. June 28, 1839) is based, as I conceive, on a mistake, from his forgetting what he must have had an occasion to learn from his schoolmaster, that "a" is the indefinite article. After quoting the leading clauses of the Constitution, in turning them into negatives, he turns the above one thus: "If a man maintain that any and every effort in a constitutional way ought not to be made to influence Congress, &c. such an one cannot be said to consent to the principles of the constitution."

Who authorized him to insert that word "any," and that word "every"? The proper negative of the clause would be, "If a man maintain that efforts should be made in an unconstitutional way; or, at the farthest, 'If a man maintain that no efforts should be made in any constitutional way at all.'"

When the Constitution shall assert, "we will influence Congress in EVERY constitutional way," then Mr. Birney will have something to stand on; at present, he has nothing—though even then, as I think with Gerrit Smith, the whole thing to be a measure and not a principle of the Constitution. I should maintain a man might be a member, who used no constitutional ways at all. Because the Society pledges itself to use a constitutional way, Mr. B. assumes that every individual is bound to use every measure that can be shown to be constitutional. Just as reasonably might he argue thus—Graham enjoins a vegetable diet. Grass is a vegetable—will you eat it? No. Then, Sir, you are no Grahamite, though you eat every thing else in the vegetable kingdom. For any man who maintains that "any and every" vegetable is not to be eaten by men is no Grahamite."

If we suppose Mr. Birney's construction right,—that the constitution binds every individual to use every constitutional way, the principle will lead to results from which, I think, Mr. B. himself will shrink. For example: Accepting a seat in Congress, when chosen to it, is lawfully in our power—it is also a constitutional way of influencing Congress;—it is also, as distinctly recognised and prescribed in that instrument as voting. Will any one dispute it? It will also influence Congress more than voting. Surely J. Q. Adams exerts more influence on that body by his speeches and votes, than any individual elector or any thousand. Becoming a member is surely as constitutional a way of influencing that body, and more effectual, than doing the 40,000th part toward making one."

Well, then, suppose the President of Oneida Institute, or the Rev. L. Lee, should next fall be chosen to Congress, and refuse the seat, because their duties, the one as President, the other as Pastor, prevented their entering any other sphere of action. They should say, "Gentlemen, we would serve you willingly, but it would be going out of our appropriate sphere." At the next meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a resolution based on that from which I have quoted above, (offered in Stanton's handwriting to the New-England Convention,) something as follows is offered, after affirming slavery to be the creature of law, &c. "Whereas, the acceptance of a seat in Congress, when thereto chosen by the people, is a constitutional way of influencing that body, and lawfully in our power, and will tend certainly to the extinction of slavery; therefore, every member of an Anti-Slavery Society, who, when chosen, refuses, under any pretext, such seat, or consents others to such a course, is guilty of gross inconsistency, and widely departs from the original and fundamental principles of the Anti-Slavery enterprise."

Will Mr. Birney vote for such a resolution? His construction, I think, binds him to do so. Will he assert that every member is constitutionally bound to accept office when proffered him? If he refuse, will he say that these two gentlemen refuse from personal considerations, and their case would be distinguished from that of the non-resistance, because they do not, like him, preach the duty of all others refusing all office? If he should, I would answer—I think many, if not most clergymen will maintain that clergymen, as such, ought not to enter political life—at least, they should not enter into any resolution affirming it to be their duty as abolitionists, to go to Congress whenever they could, and that any one who refused was self-elected from the anti-slavery platform. If this be so, then so far as that extensive profession is concerned, then, on Birney's construction, stand on this point, in precisely the same dilemma as the non-resistance, in regard to voting. When the clergy will pass a resolution, that any minister who refuses political office when he can use this constitutional way of influencing Congress, is no longer entitled to membership in the Society, (Birney's words,) then I'll begin to inquire how far for membership in the Society a man refuses to use that other constitutional way—voting. Will he say that their excuse differs in its nature from that of the non-resistance—that he would excuse any man's not voting, who was detained from the polls by weightier duties and more important engagements—the physician by the death-bed—the child ministering to a parent's need? In like manner those two brethren would go to Congress, if higher duties did not demand their time. To that I answer, shall other engagements, shall a man's opinion that he is better employed as admitted as a sufficient excuse for non-performance of a moral and constitutional duty, and shall the plea of conscience be voted insufficient? This was a new kind of limitation of responsibility, according to which a man who does not choose to vote may be a member, good and true—one whose conscience will not permit him to be unfit."

But waiving this, the distinction avails him nothing. He says: "Admitting that the (non-resistance) do ask those who can conscientiously vote, to vote for the slave, it does not touch the question whether they, as members of the Society, are not themselves bound to vote. If it be the duty of one, it is the duty of all." On the same principle, admitting that those two gentlemen do ask those who can go to Congress, to go—it does not touch the question, whether they, as members of the Society, are not themselves bound to go. If it is the duty of one, it is the duty of all, and Birney's own conclusion is, the men who can't do such constitutional duties are no longer entitled to membership. The distinction is the same, indeed, as that conjured up by Levitt between the case of the covenant and non-resistance, which spirit was laid by Truth-Teller.—Lib. July 26, 1839.

Gerrit Smith, I think, has fallen into the same respect toward J. Q. that captain of the alphabet. He recognizes (Lib. Apr. 24, 1840) petitioning and voting as constitutional ways of influencing Congress. "I shall petition," says the non-resistance—and when a resolution is up affirming it to be our duty to use the elective franchise, said non-resistance takes the liberty to vote against it. You have no right to do so, argues Smith; as long as voting is a constitutional way, so long will it be incompetent for you, or any other person, to deny the rightfulness of asserting that it is a duty. This construction is essentially the same as Birney's, and leads, when applied to the other parts of the Constitution, into all sorts of trouble. For instance: the Society pledges itself to convince our fellow-citizens by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God—in the same general language that it lays down the duty of influencing Congress. Now, there are many kinds of arguments, in Congress. Smith's construction binds every individual at least to assent to the duty of using every argument which any other abolitionist can devise. For, so long, might it be said in his words, "as it is an argument addressed to the understanding, &c. so long it is incompetent for you, or any other person, to deny the rightfulness of using it. Now, H. C. W. lays down the principle, that man has no right, under any pretext or in any character, to exercise authority over man; and thence, if you admit it, most legitimately infer the sin of slaveholding. Now, suppose he should come into one of our meetings, Gerrit Smith in the chair, and offer a resolution, "that this principle, being an argument addressed to the understanding and conscience, and tending, if admitted, to the duty of every abolitionist to use it, and who ever refused, &c. as above, was guilty of gross inconsistency, &c. Up starts some Orange Scott with, 'Mr. Chairman, I cannot vote for that resolution. I must vote against it—I think non-resistance worse than slavery!'"

But, hark! the sonorous and beautiful voice of the Chairman: "Hold, Mr. Scott, so long as this is an argument addressed to the understanding and conscience, and tending to prove the heinous crime of slaveholding, so long will it be incompetent for you or any other person to deny the rightfulness of using it. But, says Mr. Scott, I object again: this is no good argument. And in any instrument drawn by men of sense, we must necessarily understand that the arguments they bid themselves to use are sound and good ones."

If I were H. C. W. I might reply, (though perhaps he would know a better answer,) in his mild, slow way, if I could—"Mr. Pres.—it is an argument, and on Gerrit Smith's principle, Mr. Scott cannot vote against this resolution. If, in an instrument drawn by men of sense, we are necessarily bound to regard the words 'good and sound' as inserted before the word argument, then, still more, in an instrument drawn by men of religion, are we bound to understand the words 'right and christian,' as inserted before the word 'Constitutional';—and by the same right that a man objects to my kind of argument as not sound and good, and refuses to use it, do I object to his 'way' of constitutional influence as not 'right and christian,' and consider myself excused from using it."

By the way, let Luther Lee tell us, by what right J. G. Birney refuses the nomination as President of the Anti-Slavery Society, when to accept is lawfully in his power? when such acceptance is almost a necessary incident to the throwing of votes; that since no man to membership in Mr. Birney's view; and when, further, Myron Holley and the committee shiver by their actions how necessary they deem such acceptance to the extinction of slavery?"

This petty style of hair-splitting argument, which I think leads into such absurdities, reminds me of Stern's sagacious critic: "Why," said he, "betwixt the nominative and the verb, which your lordship knows should agree both in number and person, Garrick made a stop—thus—twenty seconds by the stop-watch, my lord! But did not you or gesture fill up the gap? Was the eye silent? Did you narrowly look? I looked only at the stop-watch, my lord! Excellent critic!"

So a certain gentleman, as he rushes far in advance of Garrison, cries out to the abolitionists, "Do all

that is lawfully in your power." Yes, they respond, all that conscience approves. "Conscience," replies this new leader, placing his microscope over the page, "I see no word of that kind in the bond."

Yes, they reply; but have you considered the spirit and intention of the framers—the general scope of the instrument?—O, no! I have only counted the words!"

State Anti-Slavery Convention. Worcester, Oct. 6, 1840. Tuesday Night.

To the EDITORIAL CHAIR: Up to this hour, you and I have had very little to do with each other since my return in pursuit of the World's Convention on the other side of the wild-heaving and awful Atlantic. That Convention, you know, was not an incoherence. As soon as I can get through with the numerous engagements which have been imposed upon me, in consequence of my mission, I hope to occupy you to good purpose."

I write now from Worcester. "The heart of the Commonwealth" is not yet perfectly sound in relation to our great anti-slavery enterprise, though it is in a more healthy condition than it was formerly. As to the effect of slavery upon the nation, it may be scripturally affirmed that the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint—and from the crown of our head to the sole of our foot, we are full of wounds, and bruises, and purifying sores. But there is some hope of recovery."

I left Boston this morning in company with a choice number of old organized abolitionists, to be present at the State Anti-Slavery Convention in this place. We have not had a more pleasant day since the present year was ushered into existence. As pleasing evidence of the change which is gradually taking place in public sentiment on the subject of prejudice, I will state that no distinction between white and colored travellers is now made on the Worcester railroad. All who behave decently are treated accordingly."

There were several colored delegates to the Convention in the cars, but I could not perceive that the feelings of any individual were ruffled on that account. Custom will soon make it, I trust, a matter of course, in all our steam boats, stage-coaches, rail-road cars, and other conveyances. The prejudice which persecutes and degrades a brother on account of the color of his skin is manifestly unreasonable, vulgar, unnatural, impious. It must be abandoned utterly, in this country, or our republicanism and Christianity will continue to be a jest and by-word."

No meeting-house could be obtained for the use of the Convention but the Methodist, which is a small one, but very neat. The notice of the meeting had not been given from any of the pulpits in this town, or in any newspaper except the Christian Reflector; so that the inhabitants generally were not apprised of our intention. In consequence of the present political excitement in this State, and the fact that another Convention is to be held at Springfield, on the 8th and 9th inst., I did not anticipate a large meeting. The number of delegates in attendance, however, is about 200, which will doubtless be increased to-morrow."

They are fine specimens of genuine, unshackled abolitionism. The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M., and was called to order by Oliver Johnson, one of the Committee of Arrangements. John M. Fisk, of North Brookfield, was chosen President, and Wm. C. Coffin, Secretary, pro tem. A committee of nomination of officers was appointed, as follows:—Oliver Johnson, Wm. Bassett, Wm. B. Earle, N. P. Rogers, and Richard Clapp, who reported the names of the following individuals:—President, Dr. Amos Farnsworth, of Groton; Vice Presidents, John M. Fisk, of West Brookfield; E. L. Capron, of North Andover; Wm. Bedford, of W. Bedford; Worcester; Richard Clapp, of Dorchester. Secretaries, Wm. C. Coffin, of New Bedford; J. S. Wall, of Worcester. The following persons were appointed a Business Committee:—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, N. P. Rogers, Abby Kelley, W. B. Earle, Francis Jackson, Wm. Bassett, Hiram A. Morse, Mary P. Kenney. Several important resolutions were discussed and adopted with perfect unanimity. But I have not time to go into particulars. Nearly four hundred dollars were collected this evening, in pledges and money, in the course of a few minutes. About one hundred dollars was also taken at the Anti-Slavery Fair. It is truly good to be here."

In great haste, I remain,

Your faithful occupant,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Intelligence from England.

By the British steamer Caledonia, which arrived at this port on Saturday morning, after a passage of thirteen days and a half, we have received a number of English and Scotch papers, and also a brief epistle from George Thompson. Another large meeting, in relation to British India, was held in Glasgow on the 13th ult., which was addressed by Mr. Thompson, C. L. Remond, and others, in a very able manner. Mr. Remond, published his speeches hereafter. In our present number, we have commenced giving the proceedings of the great Manchester meeting. The speech of Mr. T. on that occasion, is worthy of special attention."

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POETRY.

SONG.

BY EREZZER ELLIOTT, OF SHEFFIELD, ENGL.
Hurrah for the land of the high and the low,
Where the only man safe is the lowest of all!
Where the poor Jew sits at the millstone,
And the low Jew sits at the millstone,
And the low Jew sits at the millstone,
And the low Jew sits at the millstone.

Hurrah for the land where the sea of to-day
Claims kindred with waters a hundred years old,
And new pines turn pale, lest the knife cut away
Some ancient of Feter, gone-clothed with gold,
And lively and lousy with venom, that makes
The grub which it drops upon turn into snakes.

But—Day of the banquet for long-trampled worms,
When millions, all hissing and fang'd, will come
forth!
Oh, ne'er may 'st thou down upon horrible forms,
That sweep o'er the isle like the wing of the north,
Drink round for wine, under shriek-shaken skies,
And quench thy red light in the glare of thy eyes!

SONG.

BY THE SAME.

They sold the chairs, they took the bed, and went;
A fender's look after them the husband sent;
His thin wife held him faintly, but in vain;
She saw the alchouse in his scowl of pain—
Hurrah for bread-tax'd England!

Upon her pregnant womb her hand she laid,
Then stab'd her living child; and shriek'd, dis-
may'd—
"Oh, why had I a mother!" wildly said
That saddest mother, gazing on the dead—
Hurrah for bread-tax'd England!

Slowly she turn'd, and sought the silent room—
Her last-born child's one dwelling-place and tomb;
Because they could not purchase earth and prayer,
The dear dead boy had long lain coffin'd there—
Hurrah for bread-tax'd England!

But that boy hath a sister—where is she?
Dying, where none a cherub filly may see—
"Mother! O come!" she sobs, with stifled groans,
In that last life, where pity turns to stone—
Hurrah for bread-tax'd England!

Before the judge, the childless stood amazed,
With none to say, "My Lord! the wretch is crazed."
Crowds saw her perish, but all eyes were dry;
Drunk, in the crowd, her husband saw her die!
Hurrah for bread-tax'd England!

Around the murderer's wrists they lock the chain:
What, tyrant! whom hath Rapine's victim slain?
The widow, hunger-stricken and sorrow-bent,
Who ask'd, with tears, her lodger's weekly rent!
Hurrah for bread-tax'd England!

Oh, wretched dealers in waste, want and war!
Would that your deeds were written—and they are!
Written and graven, on minds and hearts un-dim'd;
Stamp'd deep, and blood-burnt in o'er-realm'd—
blest'd—
Hurrah for bread-tax'd England!

SONG.

BY THE SAME.

Bright Word of God! that shinest on high,
Beneath his footstool of the sky!
Thou say'st he made thee bright for all;
For rich and poor, for great and small;
And canst thou lie?

Lo! on the prisoner's dungeon'd eye,
Cut off from heaven's warm blessing,
Thy beams of glory cannot fall;
Yet say'st thou, light was made for all;
And dost thou lie?

The sons of want and labor sigh
For air, for light, and, poison'd, die!
Life is to them a funeral pall;
Yet say'st thou, light is bright for all;
O dost thou lie?

To them the lark, the eagle cry,
The tiny wren, the little fly;
On these the sun, the mountains call;
Thou say'st, God made thee bright for all,
And dost thou lie.

WRONG NOT THE LABORING POOR!

BY THE SAME.

Wrong not the laboring poor by whom ye live!
Wrong not your humble fellow-worms, ye proud!
For God will not the poor man's wrongs forgive,
But hear his plea, and have his plea allowed.

O be not like the vapors, splend'ring o'er,
That, sprung from earth's green breast, usurp the
sky.
Then spread around contagion black and cold,
Till all who mourn the dead prepare to die!

No! imitate the bounteous clouds, that rise,
Freighted with bliss, from river, vale, and plain;
The thankful clouds, that beautify the skies,
Then fill the lap of earth with fruit and grain.

Yes! emulate the mountain and the flood,
That trade in blessings with the mighty deep;
Till, satisfied to peace, and satisfied with good,
Man's heart be happy as a child asleep.

THE LOCUSTRY OF BRITAIN!

BY THE SAME.

The locustry of Britain
Are gods beneath the skies;
They stamp the brave into the grave;
They feed on Famine's sighs;
They blight all homes, they break all hearts,
Except, alas, their own!

While a moon and a groan,
That move 'th' Almight's throne,
Bring angels' tears in pity down,
And move the Eternal throne!

The bread-tax of England,
What awful powers they are!
They make a league with Want and Crime!
On Plenty they wage war!
They curse the land, the winds, the sea;
Lord! have they conquer'd thee?

With a frown, looking down,
While they curse the land and sea,
They rival hell, and libel heav'n,
But have not vanquish'd thee.

PROLOGUE TO THE CORN-LAW RHYMES.

BY THE SAME.

For thee, my country, these, do I perform,
Sternly, the duty of a man born free,
Steadfast, though base, and wolf, and venomous worm,
Shake ears and fangs, with brandish'd bay, at me;
Alone as Crusoe on the hostile sea,
For thee, for us, for our, do I uraine

The standard of my song! for thee and mine
I tell the knell of England's better days;
And lift my hated voice that mine and thine
May degrade the human form divine.
Perchance that voice, if heard, is heard too late:
The buried dust of Tyre may wake, and sway
Reconquer'd seas; but what shall renovate
The dead-alive, who dread no judgment day?

Souls, whose the lust of gold hath turned to clay?
And what but scorn and slander will reward
The rattle's post, and his honest song?
Gambler for blanks! thou play'st an idiot's card,
For, sure to fail, the weak attack the strong,
Ay, but what strength is there's, whose might is based
on wrong?

NON-RESISTANCE.

Executions.

The period has now arrived, when the great ex-
periment of replacing by more moderate penalties
the exterminating enactments of former times—has
been tried by the test of full experience; and the
Conservators of the Anti-Slavery Cause, the
Society, which has marked the transition from a sys-
tem of indiscriminate rigour to one of great com-
parative mercy.

In the year 1821, there were 114 executions in
England and Wales. In 1828, the number was re-
duced to 59; in 1830, to 17; and in 1838, it was
only 6.

That this change has been effected without di-
minishing, even in the slightest degree, the security
of the persons and properties of men, is a matter of
the clearest evidence, the evidence of actual expe-
rience, which cannot be disputed or falsified. The
Government Returns prove, that there have been
fewer robberies in the last five years, with 5
executions, than in the preceding five years, with
36 executions—that there have been fewer acts of
burglary and house-breaking in the last six years,
with only 3 executions, than in the preceding six
years, when 56 persons suffered death for those
crimes; that there has been but one murder in the
last nine years, without any execution, than in the
preceding nine years, during which, for that offence
alone, 46 convicts were sent to the scaffold.

Whatever experience has been acquired by this
unexampled reform in the administration of public
justice, has, at least, been safely and innocently
gained. Some hundreds of offenders, had they been
executed, would have been spared, and would have
been permitted to live a few years before, would have
been allowed to live. Life, the only season of re-
pentance, with all its opportunities of regaining the
favor of an offended Deity, has been mercifully con-
tinued to them; and from this lenity society has
derived no injury, no loss. Who then can fail to re-
joice at a result so consolatory to humanity?

One question only remains. Reflecting men will
ask, after so many accumulated proofs of the ineffi-
cacy of capital punishment, why should it be retained
at all? Reasoning minds will enquire. Is the ex-
ecution of 6 persons in a year so essential to social
security, that we must at all times uphold the re-
volving machinery of the scaffold?

For murder no less than other crimes, the penalty
of death, as an example, is momentary and of no be-
neficial effect—it disgusts the good, and brutalizes
the bad, who witness the spectacle of man cruelly
destroyed by man—as an act of extreme violence,
it teaches violence to the people: as an act of de-
liberate homicide, it diminishes the regard for the
sanctity of life, and renders murder less revolting
to the unimpaired mind. For murder as well as
other crimes, it too often leads to impunity through
the suppression of evidence by the associates or ac-
quaintance of the criminal, who recoil at the thought
of becoming accessory to the death of one, with
whom they had formerly lived on terms of familiar
intercourse.

The Committee invite the attention of the public
to the important fact, that there have been fewer
commitments for murder in the last three years, than
when the executions for that crime were 24, or 7
annually, than in the three years preceding, when
the executions were 39, or 24 annually. Similar
results have followed the partial disease of the pun-
ishment of death for murder in France and Prussia;
and in Belgium, the discontinuance of the capital
penalty, during five successive years ending with
1834, was accompanied by a diminution in the num-
ber of murders. This experience proves, that in
order to render the laws against crime reformatory
they must cease to be revengeful.

It is true the punishment of death is judicially
said, like all other punishment, to be, not for revenge
but example—but, as it has notoriously failed in
the way of example, what purpose can its infliction
serve unless the gratification of revenge? Let it
then be entirely repealed, and some punishment sub-
stituted which does not shock the natural feel-
ings of mankind, and is therefore more capable of
uniform execution! By the abolition of it we
should teach men forbearance by the high example
of the laws, and inculcate the sacredness of life on
that supreme authority; while the retention of it
for murder answers none of the real ends of justice,
but serves only, by exciting blind and unreasoning
revenge, to encourage a savage spirit of retaliation, in utter
violation with the gentle temper of Christianity, and
itself the fruitful parent of atrocious crimes.

WILLIAM ALLEN,
Chairman of the Committee.
40, Trinity Square, Tower Hill,
London, 1839.

MISCELLANY.

Opinion of Prof. Stuart of Andover, as to the

Inspiration of Jesus and the Apostles.

"But one thing is clear from this, and many other
like passages, viz, that the apostles were not uni-
formly and always guided in all their thoughts, de-
cisions and purposes, by the Holy Spirit. Had this
been the case, how could Paul have often pro-
posed that which never came to pass? Those who
plead for such a uniform inspiration, may seem to
be zealous for the honor of the apostles and
founders of Christianity; but they do so in
fact cherish a mistaken zeal. For if we admit
that the apostles were uniformly inspired, we are
constrained to admit that men acting under the
influence of inspiration, may propose that which
will never come to pass or be done; may say that
which is untrue, or incorrect, Acts xiii. 34. Or do
that which the gospel disapproves, Gal. ii. 13, 14. But
when this is once fully admitted, it makes nothing
for the credit due to any man, to affirm that he is
inspired; for what is that inspiration to be account-
ed of, which, even during its continuance, does not
guard the subject of it from mistake or error? Con-
sequently those who maintain the uniform inspira-
tion of the apostles, are yet admitted to be com-
pelled to do their errors in purpose, word, and ac-
tion, do in effect obscure the glory of inspiration,
by reducing inspired and uninspired men to the same
level.

To my own mind nothing appears more certain,
than that inspiration, in any respect, was not
abiding and uniform with the apostles or any of
the primitive Christians. To God's only and well-
beloved Son, and to him only, was it given to have
the Spirit anctus or *eu kielon*, John iii. 34. All
others on whom was bestowed the precious gift of
inspiration, enjoyed it on a lower and less exalted
plane. Hence it was, that Jesus 'knew no sin, neither
was guile found in his mouth'; but all his followers,
in so far as they were left without the special and
miraculous guidance of the Spirit, committed more
or less of error.

This view of the subject frees it from many and
misleading difficulties. It is in accordance with the
view of the pre-eminence which is justly due. It ac-
counts for the mistakes and errors of the apostles.
At the same time, it does not detract, in the least
degree, from the certainty and validity of the apos-
tolic sayings and doings, when these ministers of
the gospel were under the special influence of the
Spirit of God. Comment on *Romans*, pp. 78, 79.

FASHION, that insatiable Moloch, is not content
with consecration by its devotee, of his own soul,
pursue, and person. It demands that his child shall
pass through the fire; that, at whatever risk to his
health and intellect, his body shall be converted into
a mere clothes-screen for the display of the friv-
olous fancies of the tailor and milliner. Where such
a sacrifice has been consummated, it is in vain to
look either for strength of body or vigor of intel-
lect. The unfortunate little victim must neither
run, climb, wade, roll, nor play. The clothes must
neither be torn nor soiled. Every thing must give
way to the Moloch. And, finally, the child, if he
survive, grows up a mere dandy's dandy, a clothes-wear-
ing man; a man whose trade, office, and existence,
consists in the wearing of clothes. When shall
this base idolatry come to an end? When shall
the Moloch of Christendom be pulled from his
throne, and cast into that fire, wherein so many of
his victims have perished. This can be accomplish-
ed only by a radical change in female education.
Fascination influence is here, all in all.—*Price Essay*
on Education, by T. H. Palmer, A. M.

MURDER. We omitted to mention before, the mur-
der of Col. Warren C. Whitaker, of the parish of
East Feliciana. By the last *San Francisco Jour-
nal* we learn that he was shot in his own yard on
the morning of the 7th inst., and expired almost in-
stantly. Four of his negroes have been arrested on
suspicion, and are now in jail. The jury of inquest
has not yet agreed as to the cause of the murder.
His remains were attended to the grave by the
masonic fraternity, the military companies of
Jackson, and a large concourse of citizens.—*New Or-
leans Picayune*.

Last Moments of Lady Hester Stanhope.

I repaired, says the physician from whom our in-
formation is derived, as speedily as possible to her
apartment. The smoky flame of a flickering lamp
at the other end of the room, lighted up at intervals
Lady Hester's pale and distorted features. The
bed-side sat an old negress, her faithful companion,
who, covering her face with her hands, uttered loud
hoarse howls. I might almost call them, like those
of a tiger in the desert. Hearing my step, the poor
creature started, and whispered anxiously,
"Oh, do be careful, Zecca! asked Lady Hester,
feebly. 'Is my brow bad saddled? I must
ride him when I go to Jerusalem to sit upon the
throne of the city of God? Are my guards ready?
Tell them I will not keep them waiting long.'

"What is the matter, Zecca?" asked Lady Hester,
feebly. 'Is my brow bad saddled? I must
ride him when I go to Jerusalem to sit upon the
throne of the city of God? Are my guards ready?
Tell them I will not keep them waiting long.'

"Fool! rejoined the negress, who overheard
her, 'die! I, for whose forehead is reserved the
crown of heavenly glory, to whom belongs the
throne of Jerusalem, forever and ever, whereas I
sit, shining with the light of my glory. How
dare you blaspheme so! Go, leave me, and let me
never see you again.' Here is the doctor
you sent me off; answered the poor slave, in a re-
signed tone.

"Ah! come this way, doctor," said Lady Hester,
turning upon me an eye which, though half extinct,
was still lighted up by fever. 'I suppose you have
come to tell me that my army is drawn up in march-
ing order. Are the troops all in good spirits? Oh,
I know they are! It is a glorious night, is it not,
my gallant army? Oh, what delight to march at
the head of their bold battalions, to rule over the
thousands of my warriors! I mean to—why do you
look so strangely at me? You seem in pain, doc-
tor, what is the matter?

"Oh, nothing, madam, I was my answer; but I am
only astonished, and that your ladyship retains so
much excitability of mind. You are hardly strong
enough yet to bear the fatigues of a campaign. You
really must keep at home for a few days; afterwards
you can carry out your ideas of conquest and tur-
pitude."

"Ah, you too," she answered reproachfully. 'But
you are mistaken, I assure you, doctor; you have
fallen into the same mistake with Zecca. Only see
how strong I am—'

With these words she raised slowly and by great
exertion her white, transparent hand, to reach a
spot placed on the table by her bed-side. She
then lifted up her spoon, evidently with pain and
effort, and seemed to direct all her strength to
it to her head—but the spoon fell from her hand,
she fainted, and I thought she was dead. She con-
tinued for a long time in this state, but towards mid-
day she rallied a little, her lips were less pallid, her
glassy eyes recovered a little of their former fire,
she seemed to have some strength, and her atten-
dants indulged once more in strong hopes of her re-
covery. I could not deceive myself, however; this
apparent rally of nature, I knew too well, was
only the last flicker of an expiring lamp, and so it
proved—a few minutes afterwards, Lady Hester
breathed her last, without a groan.

Such was the end of this famous woman, whose
name has been spread through the whole oriental
world.

Brutal Murder at Dabouque. The Galena Gazette of the 9th publishes an ex-
cerpt from a letter written at Dabouque on the 6th,
giving the details of one of the most shocking mur-
ders on record. Were it not that the editor of the
paper, by which news is conveyed at the rate of two
hundred thousand miles per second, or eight thou-
sand times quicker than light travels during the
same period. Electrical currents passing through
tubes of copper wire placed immediately behind
some magnetic needles, are made to operate upon a
circular disc of twenty lines, which indicate such
circumstances, either separately or collectively, as they
have been arranged to represent. This telegraph will
act day and night, in all states of the weather, and
with such rapidity that one minute only is required
for the communication of thirty signals.

ITEMS.

BRUTAL ASSAULT. Mr. English, editor of the
Boston Herald, was assaulted in his office, on Sat-
urday, the 29th ult. by a son of Mr. Pelby, manager
of the National Theatre, and severely beaten.

Mr. English, upon examination, was found to be
seriously injured. His collar and vest were covered
with blood, which had gushed from his mouth, nose,
and ears. His lower jaw was dislocated, and his
teeth were loosened. His head was severely injured,
and he was bruised and disfigured. But the most dan-
gerous injury was inflicted on his stomach and ribs. During
the whole afternoon, he suffered much pain in his
left side, raised blood from his lungs, and was ex-
ceedingly weak and feeble. He was taken immedi-
ately before the Police Court, and entered a complaint
against his assailant, and a warrant issued by Judge
Rogers for his arrest. Mr. English then suffered so
much from his wound and injuries that it was neces-
sary to transfer him to his lodging, where it is
feared he will be confined for some weeks.

SEALS. There are nineteen species of that half-
human inhabitant of the sea, called seals. They are
even more like men than monkeys are, and live in
social communities, and display great sagacity and
moral affection. The females are especially interest-
ing in their duties to the young; and among some
species, but not male and one female live together,
while in others polygamy is practiced with regular
family government. For the sake of oil, man is
their merciless destroyer. The smaller species are
called seal-calves, and the larger, or urine, sea bor-
ne. We think it will do more good than the
mermaid.

NEW DESCRIPTIONS OF COTTON. A new species of
Cotton has been discovered by Mr. L. C. Horsely, of
Covington, La. He says the bush grows from 2 to
10 feet high, branching out in proportion, and pro-
ducing from 2 to 3 thousand pounds to the acre. This
cotton is of long staple, and of very fine texture. He
thinks as fine as any ordinary seed. He says one seed
was found two years since in a chest of tea, imported
from China; he planted it, and saved the seed which
was its production, planted them, and now offers a few
for sale. This cotton proves as good as represented,
we can then count upon a new era in the cultivation
of the great staple.—*N. O. Bulletin*.

RUNAWAY TAKEN. The Vermilionville Gladiator
of the 12th inst. says—"We announce with pleasure
the apprehension of Don Louis, the son of John Lou-
is, the leader of the intended revolt; he was arrested
on or near the Bayou Centre, in the parish of St.
Martin, he has been for some time in the woods with
his father, and we have every reason to believe that
John Louis is somewhere near the same Bayou.—
Ibid.

The Banner of Liberty, a paper which was started
at Montpelier, Vermont, last month as an organ for
the friends of Independent Nominations, has been
discontinued, the amount of patronage being quite in-
sufficient to meet the expense of publication, which,
for four months, would have cost about three hundred
dollars.—*Voice of Freedom*.

Roger Williams declared that the worst statute in
the English code was that which enforced attendance
upon the parish church. To compel men to unite
with those of a different creed, he regarded as an open
violation of their natural rights. No one should be
forced to worship, he declared, "To maintain a wor-
ship against his own consent."

A letter from South America, received in New-
buryport, states that the smallpox had desolated the
city of Panama, the population having been reduced
by it from upwards of 20,000 to less than one half.
Almost every family in the city had suffered by it,
and the inhabitants had no knowledge of any means
to stay its progress.

HONESTY OF A BANKRUPT. The Philadelphia In-
dependent Gazette states that a gentleman who failed in
business in the city some years ago, has since,
by his industry and enterprise, met with great suc-
cess, and lately he sent to each of his old creditors a
check for principal and interest of his old debts, and paid
off, comprising an amount of about fifty thousand
dollars.

An English preacher at the Bishop of Lincoln's vi-
sitation, in 1818, chose for his text, "Glory to God in
the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men,"
and after his exordium proposed as the subject of his
discourse; "to examine the doctrines of Calvin as
laid down in his Institutes!"

On the road between New Haven and Humphreys-
ville there is a guide-post with the following Latin
inscription:—*RELINQUITE VOS*. The puzzle is solved
by spelling the letters backward. To read them as
they stand, the traveller must, like the Irishman,
stand on his head.

It is stated that in the year 1839, the imports
from the island of Ceylon, were valued at \$125,000,
an amount greater by one quarter than all our im-
ports from Russia, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Peru and
Chili united.

MELANCHOLY. A boat containing six boys was up-
set on Sunday on the Schuylkill near Coates street
wharf, and four of the six unfortunately drowned.
The latest British papers tell of a similar accident, by
which eleven youths perished.—*Philadelphia Nat. Gaz.*

The newspapers announce the death of Mr. Eliza F.
Marshall, of the Geneva Family. She was the author
of a spelling book which for many years has been
popular. He died at Rochester, on the 29th ultimo.

It was well said that he who writes against the
abuses of the age in which he lives, must depend upon
the generosity of the few for his bread, and the malice
of the many for his fame.

A writer in the Newark Advertiser, thus con-
cludes 'A Chapter on Old Women':

Yet, amid all the sarcastic severities of those who
would heap such defiling attributes upon the charac-
ter of old women, how many happy memories throng
upon the imagination, when we pause to gaze
while upon the countenance of the aged. The
placid serenity which shines in the face of the old,
is a type of repose, after all the storms of life, amid
that haven whose end is the grave. In every family
circle an aged female is a blessing and a stay.
What though the untimely attributes of age have
assumed the place of beauty, and no longer develop
those charms and attractions which in youth formed
our heart's delight—let not the recollection vanish
of woman's devoted love, her tenderness, and her
cherished affections, lavished on those who, from
the sunny heights of youth can look down upon age
seated by some lone fountain's side, whose mur-
murs, though they are yet mournful. To the
aged, the days of delight are over; youth, and love,
and tender joys, are gone from them forever. Old
women are 'sore' to many. In every family home,
and around every hearth, their 'household' words
are venerable and oracular. Their voices have a
quiet melody, whose echoes fill every room with
happiness and peace, and no longer develop those
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charms and attractions which in youth formed
our heart's delight—let not the recollection vanish
of woman's devoted love, her tenderness, and her
cherished affections, lavished on those who, from
the sunny heights of youth can look down upon age
seated by some lone fountain's side, whose mur-
murs, though they are yet mournful. To the
aged, the days of delight are over; youth, and love,
and tender joys, are gone from them forever. Old
women are 'sore' to many. In every family home,
and around every hearth, their 'household' words
are venerable and oracular. Their voices have a
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